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**On nongrammatical forms of expression of the category of expansivity  
under comparative aspect**

**ABSTRACT.** The article is devoted to the comparative analysis of derivative nouns in the German, Russian and Tartar languages on the point of the expression of the meaning of the location relations. The paper considers their productive word-building models and semantic relations.

**KEYWORDS:** Nomina loci, wordformation, wordformation act, semisuffix, form and meaning.

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**Are there any ways to protect endangered languages from dying out?**

**ABSTRACT.** This paper explores challenges to linguistic vitality confronting minority languages, ways to protect linguistic diversity in the background of globalization as many of the world's languages face serious risk of extinction. The author reviews and summarizes most common professional contributions from the highly-charged debate on necessity to document and preserve critically endangered languages and explains some causes and consequences of the loss of linguistic diversity. The author provides an example of the endangered languages in Russia: Tofa, a Siberian language spoken by only 35 out of 600 Tofalar people in central Siberia. This article describes the sounds, lexicon, grammar, and cultural knowledge found in the Tofalar culture and language. The article also outlines two examples of successful projects currently underway to sustain minority languages (The Living Tongues Institute and The Enduring Voices projects) which are aimed to provide online resources to record, access and share samples of and research on endangered languages, as well as to share advice and best practices for those working to document or strengthen languages under threat.

**KEYWORDS:** Tofa, language diversity, globalization, minority languages, indigenous peoples.

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It is common knowledge that about 90% of about 7,000 (the Ethnologue database lists 6,909) living languages are expected to be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21st century. The linguistic equivalent of an ecological disaster is looming according to researchers from the University of Manchester who say that 90% of the world's languages are likely to disappear by 2050. There is no shortage of languages, but only 4% of them are spoken by 96% of people. Dominant 10 languages (English, Arabic and Hindi, etc.) are spoken by more than 100 million people each. Does it matter when a minority language dies? This is a question bothering a number of people, from professional linguists to amateur language-lovers and activists. As globalization accelerates, so does the debate. While some wring their hands over the specter of a universal language like English, and organizations like UNESCO fight to preserve endangered tongues, others aren't so sure: isn't language evolution, like biological evolution, a natural phenomenon? Is better communication through common language necessarily a bad thing? Here are some of the most common professional contributions from this highly-charged debate:

- Languages come and go--let them. This is a passive philosophical approach which says that languages change or die, new languages are thus born out of old ones. It is a story almost as old as human evolution. The followers of this theory feel very ambivalent about preserving languages on the brink of dying and consider the life and death of languages to be like the change of the seasons: timeless and irrevocable;

- The main loss when a language dies not cultural but aesthetic. People who support this idea dismiss the notion that «the death of a language means the death of a culture»--languages die when cultures die, not the other way around. Furthermore, they points out that the «aesthetic delight» of minority languages, can be appreciated only by a small segment of humanity. Certainly dying languages should be preserved as «museum pieces» for scholars;

-Any language is a human treasure and should be kept alive. The followers of this approach think that the fight to save languages is neither frivolous nor futile and point to the examples of Irish Gaelic and Hebrew for encouragement and note the importance of «strong collective will» in reviving minority and old language as Hebrew;

-The relevance of languages approach. The followers of it assume that doing nothing while languages die is not a proper option. Letting some languages die because they don't fit our present framework denies that there may be some future framework in which they are more relevant to. The cultural context of the language is the priority as one can understand a culture through its method of communication [2, P. 1].

Language extinction has been a phenomenon for at least 10,000 years, since the dawn of agriculture. In the pre-agricultural state the norm was to have many languages for numerous communities. As humans developed with agriculture, larger population groups were able to aggregate together. Languages typically die when speakers of a small language group come in contact with a more dominant population. That happened first when hunter-gatherers transitioned to agriculture, then during periods of European colonial expansion, and more recently with global migration and urbanization. The spread of English, Spanish and Russian wiped out many small languages. Some languages vanish in an instant, at the death of the sole surviving speaker. Others are lost gradually in bilingual cultures, as indigenous tongues are overwhelmed by the dominant language at school, in the marketplace and on television. A language is considered extinct when the last person who learned it as his or her primary tongue dies. UNESCO has launched an online atlas of endangered languages, labelling more than 2,400 at risk of extinction.

Linguists have named the five regions where languages are disappearing most rapidly: northern Australia, central South America, North America's upper Pacific coastal zone, eastern Siberia, and Oklahoma and the southwestern United

States. All have indigenous people speaking diverse languages, in falling numbers. The researchers, focusing on distinct oral languages, not dialects, interviewed and made recordings of the few remaining speakers of a language and collected basic word lists. The individual projects involve hundreds of hours of recording speech, developing grammars, vocabulary lists and studying cultural aspects of life. At least 30 languages in the region of Siberia are commonly spoken by low and relentlessly declining numbers, and most are now considered endangered to some extent. Speakers of a typical Siberian language are scattered over vast and scarcely populated territory. These groups of people are typically settled along the major Siberian rivers (Ob, Yenisey, Lena) and their tributaries, few groups have penetrated deeper into the taiga or tundra.

In my paper I have chosen to write about Tofa, a Siberian language spoken by only 35 out of 600 Tofalar people in central Siberia. Tofa is isolated to three small villages located in the Sayan Mountains (Alygdzher, Nerkha and Verkhnyaya Gutara )in Nizhneudinsk County in Irkutsk Province, to the south of the city of Nizhneudinsk. All known fluent speakers are above forty years of age. The Tofalars are the most ancient people of the Sayans and they lead a hunting and reindeer herding life. The Tofalars are small stature men. Due to their small number and unity, they were able to maintain a degree of homogeneity when it comes to language. The villages are very isolated and small, as they only have about 600 inhabitants total. For centuries the Tofalar relied on reindeer for almost everything, but mostly for transport. As a result, reindeer became a huge part of the Tofalar culture. One of the main sources of income for the Tofalar was the sale of sable fur and reindeer were required for successful hunting. Unfortunately, the population of reindeer in Tofalaria has made a steady decline over the past few decades because of disease and predation and the Tofa language has been disappearing at about the same rate.

Tofa is a Turkic language, It falls under the Uighur-Oguz group of languages. Tofa is considered to be one of the most numerically small Turkic

languages and is closely related to the Tuvan language. Some linguists believe that Tofa could be a dialect of Tuvan. The Tofalars have no written language and they normally use Russian when it comes to the written form. The Cyrillic alphabet has been employed whenever attempts have been made to put down the Tofa language in writing. Tofa has 2 dialects: *Alygdzher* and *Gutar*. The Tofa language has been linguistically influenced by other languages and as a result, has borrowed various vocabularies from those languages. This includes Ket, Buryat, medieval Mongolian and Russian. There are some foreign words used in Tofa, whose origins are still not well known.

Tofa has the Turkic “short vowel phonemes of hard row” (а, о, у, ы) and «of soft row» (э, ө, ү, и). However, Tofa has its own pharyngealised phonemes as well (аъ, оъ, уъ, ыъ, эъ, өъ, үъ, иъ, аа, оо, уу, ыы, ээ, өө, үү, ии, әә, ii). Grammatically, Tofa is an agglutinative language; words begin with a root and affixes can be added. Nouns in Tofa can show number and possession, and verbs can include voice or mood. Tofa has no gender distinction in words. Much of the vocabulary comes from Turkic, Oguz and Uighur, as well as Buryat, Mongolian and Russian. Shaman and reindeer herders both contributed to the language; Shaman used Tofa in their rituals and herders created a classification system for reindeer. They invented single words which were very descriptive so that they could convey messages about their reindeer more easily. For example, a ‘döngür’ is ‘a male domesticated reindeer in its third year and first mating season, but not yet ready to mate.’ A ‘chary’ is a ‘five year old, castrated, domesticated reindeer that can be ridden’. Just as there are no exact synonyms within a language («big» does not mean precisely the same as «large»), there are no exact matches for words or expressions across languages. Furthermore, that word exists within a multidimensional matrix that defines the four salient (for the Tofa people) parameters of reindeer: age, sex, fertility, and rideability. Words are untranslatable because do not exist in a flat, alphabetised dictionary style list, but rather in a richly structured taxonomy of meaning. They are defined by their oppositions to

and similarities to multiple other words—in other words, the cultural backdrop [1, P.1].

Tofa uses a 13-month lunar calendar with months named for hunter-gatherer activities:

teshkileer ay - February, or hunting animals on skis month;

ytalaar ay - March, hunting with dogs month;

eki tozaar ay - April, good birch-bark-collecting month;

aynaar ay - August, digging edible lily bulbs month;

chary eter ay - October, rounding up castrated male reindeer month.

In Tofa, in order to say «go» you must first know the direction of the current in the nearby river and your own trajectory relative to it. Tofa «go» verbs therefore index the landscape in a way that cannot survive displacement or translation. Knowledge systems such as the Tofa reindeer taxonomy and Tuvan «go» verbs get lost, flattened out, and vastly simplified when people switch to speaking another language.

In 2001, there were nine fluent Tofa speakers in one village, Aligdzher, and they were all over the age of fifty. There were five fluent speakers in the village of Nerxa, all of whom were elderly. No one under the age of thirty claimed to have any understanding of the Tofa language. This means that now, ten years later, there may be only one or two speakers of Tofa in the entire world. Even with so few speakers left, Tofa still shows some dialect diversity from one village to the next. It also possesses an archaic lexicon and grammatical structures that set it apart from its closest linguistic relatives (several Siberian languages spoken in neighboring regions on other sides of mountain ridges). Tofa contains many words that attest to an animistic worldview; for example, it has many words that indicate the bear and parts of the bear. Because the bear is both feared and sacred, a taboo prevents people from uttering its name out loud. It is properly called *iresang*, but is more likely to be named indirectly, for example as *ulug ang* (great beast), *ulaktyg angast* (with ears), *tuktug ang* (furry beast), or *kara chume* (black thing). Other words

indicate bear blood, bear fat, bear paws, and bear skin. All these words are ancient; they reflect an earlier population of indigenous Siberians who were absorbed by the Tofa at an unknown date, and of whom few other cultural traces remain. But these specialized word structures are now collapsing under the influence of Russian, which has just one basic word for bear [4, P.1].

Beyond word meanings, the poetics of song, epic tales, origin myths and everyday stories cannot be translated, or at least not well, without losing expressive power, nuance, and affect. When the last Tofa-speaking reindeer herder dies, that tradition will live on only on tape. If we document these dying languages, not only do we have a way to resurrect the language, but we all have the chance to learn how the Tofalar people and other groups saw the world, and that may be the most priceless information anyone could have. The Tofa also possess highly specialized abilities for mimicking and stylizing the natural acoustic environment. These skills may confer an adaptive advantage by providing herders and hunter-gatherers a tool to manage wild animals, plants, and reindeer. Sound mimesis is manifested in hunting calls, animal-sound imitation, and more structured song and spoken forms. Some Tofa elders can perform various animal calls or play special birch-bark whistles to call wild pigs and musk deer, or birch-bark horns to call wild elk, but these skills are dying out.

Tofalar children are still forced to attend boarding schools where they are not likely to use their mother tongue. Language loss happens quickly if the young generations are not learning the language. Once all of the elderly speakers die, there will be no one left who knows how to speak this language. This may seem unimportant, but we all need to understand that language and culture go hand in hand. It is obvious that much of the Tofa language was built upon the belief system of the Tofalar, Shamanism, and upon their involvement with reindeer herding. There is a direct link between the language of the Tofalar and their culture. If a language is lost, a culture is lost. If a culture is lost, then every person in the world has missed an opportunity to learn about the earth a different way and to see life in

a differently. It's vital to save languages because they «are the primary conduit for human culture», says K. David Harrison, a linguist and co-leader of National Geographic's «Enduring Voices” project» [3, P. 1].

It is evident that for many of the world's indigenous peoples, cultural survival will be increasingly linked to linguistic survival. For cultures like the Tofa that lack a written tradition, spoken language serves as the primary way to transmit cultural knowledge. This knowledge guides vital decisions of everyday life: showing people what wild plants to eat or use for medicine, from what clan to select a spouse, to what mountain they must make ritual offerings of food, during what month they should hunt squirrels, and what reindeer in the herd they can milk or ride. The intellectual wealth possessed by indigenous peoples consists of elaborate interlocking systems of knowledge about society, nature, ecology, and the invisible and visible worlds. These systems in turn depend on the vitality of the language for their continued existence. As indigenous languages disappear, most speakers will not manage to transport this vast storehouse of ancestral knowledge into the new, dominant language. They will lose an intricate knowledge base, including names for objects, myths, religious beliefs, and technologies such as animal domestication, ethnobotany, and sound mimesis. Dominant world languages (such as Spanish, Mandarin, Russian and English) that indigenous communities are now embracing lack this special adaptation to local environments.

Many of the world's languages face serious risk of extinction only two projects here.

In 2012 Google launched The Living Tongues Institute, a website for people to find and share the most up-to-date and comprehensive information about endangered languages. The project was built in conjunction with the Alliance for Language Diversity to provide an online resource to record, access and share samples of and research on endangered languages, as well as to share advice and best practices for those working to document or strengthen languages under threat.



The Living Tongues Institute (<http://livingtongues.org/>) is a non-profit research institute founded by linguist Dr. Gregory D. S. Anderson. Its objective is to document endangered languages, promote the documentation, maintenance, preservation, and revitalization of endangered languages worldwide through linguist-aided, community-driven, multimedia language documentation projects. Living Tongues researchers have also created eighty dictionaries to support these languages. They provide valuable digital skills training to dozens of local collaborators who help build up the dictionaries. They explore the uses of these digital resources by a variety of stakeholders: speakers, educators, linguists, language activists, and technologists. Any person can search resources on information, academic publications, and research concerning the world's endangered languages including Tofa. The resources include information on anthropology, sociology, education, cognitive science, environmental science, public policy, and more and have been uploaded by users and researchers alike.

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## Можно ли сохранить исчезающие языки?

**Аннотация.** Целью написанной данной статьи было изучение проблем сохранения языкового многообразия планеты, исчезновения миноритарных языков в ситуации глобализации. Автор статьи проводит обзор авторитетных мнений по вопросам целесообразности сохранения исчезающих языков, выявляет причины и последствия гибели миноритарных языков,

обосновывает необходимость их документирования. В качестве характерного примера этого явления в России рассматривается ситуация с тофаларским языком, являющимся родным для коренного народа центральной Сибири. По оценке учёных, лишь 35 из 600 зарегистрированных тофаларов владеют родным языком. Статья демонстрирует некоторые характерные особенности фонетического, лексического, грамматического аспектов языка, традиций, истории и культуры народа. В качестве успешных примеров работы по сохранению исчезающих языков называются международные проекты «Живые Языки» и «Языки, борющиеся за право на жизнь», целью которых является создание онлайн пространств для изучения, звуковой записи образцов речи носителей миноритарных языков, а также обмен опытом и демонстрация практических методов и способов их сохранения.

**Ключевые слова:** тофаларский язык, языковое многообразие, глобализация, миноритарные языки, коренные народы.

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### **Билингвизм в европейских романоязычных странах в диахроническом и синхроническом аспектах**

**Аннотация.** В настоящей статье в обзорной форме рассматривается существование на территории Романии такого явления, как двуязычие. Целью исследования является демонстрация того факта, что на протяжении всей истории развития латыни и романских языков большая часть коммуникантов, помимо основного, владела также другими языками, которые оказали определенное влияние на современное состояние основного языка, распространенного на указанной территории. Важным результатом владения отдельными носителями несколькими языками являются заимствования и кальки, постепенно возникавшие в речи даже тех, кто владел лишь одним родным романским языком. В работе анализируются различные примеры социального двуязычия как в историческом, так и в синхроническом аспекте; ситуация билингвизма рассматривается во всех европейских странах, в которых какой-либо романский язык является официальным, начиная с Испании и Португалии и заканчивая Республикой Молдова. В результате анализа положения миноритарных языков выявляется, что соотношение используемых языков в речи билингвов зачастую было и является неравноценным и